

Summaries

Georg Schmidt: Zur Einführung

Wer sich im frühneuzeitlichen Bern, in Königsberg, Dorpat oder Trient als „Deutscher“ bezeichnete, verband damit keine herrschaftliche Zuordnung. Gemeint waren eher ethnisch-kulturelle Gemeinsamkeiten. Gerade der europäische Vergleich zeigt die Besonderheiten dieser „offen“ deutschen Nationsbildung, die in der Frühen Neuzeit weit über den politischen Rahmen des Alten Reiches hinausgriff, ohne daraus staatliche Integrationsansprüche abzuleiten. Das Buch versammelt 15 Beiträge renommierter Wissenschaftler, die die Entwicklung der frühneuzeitlichen deutschen Nation in den europäischen Kontext stellen. Diskutiert werden Fragen der politischen Ordnung, der kulturellen Identität sowie des Austauschs mit den Nachbarn.

I. Binnensichten

Alfred Kohler: Österreich und die deutsche Nation – politische und kulturelle Distanz?

The House of Habsburg united countries with different jurisdictions. As member of the Holy Roman Empire in the Austrian Countries the Dynasty used the ‘Ius reformandi’ of 1555 and successfully reinstituted Catholicism in their territories by the 17th century and in Bohemia during the Thirty Years War via a new law of 1627, the ‘Verneuerte Landesordnung’. Hungary, however, remained a politically and religiously difficult area to manage where the Habsburg rulers were forced to compromise and endure other confessions.

Austria’s own development in the Holy Roman Empire reached the point at the end of the 18th century, where the new term of ‘one nation’ was used by the Habsburg’s monarchy to mobilize its population and protect it from enemies. In this way Austrian policy defended itself against French revolutionary militia and Napoleon during the last years of the Holy Roman Empire until its declared end in 1806 by the Emperor Franz II.

Peter Wilson: Imperial Defence. Integration Through Military Cooperation?

The relationship between war, nationalism and state development is generally assumed to be a feature of modern history. Nations are regarded as having been forged in battle, either through wars of unification, liberation or secession. The possibility that military service may have fostered common identity in early modern Germany is overlooked because the old Reich does not fit the general model through which such relationships have been investigated. Closer inspection reveals that the incorporation of the Reichsstände within the system of collective security was one of the four primary political and legal ties binding the Reich together, alongside common subordination to the emperor (Lehensverband), representation in imperial institutions (Reichsstandschaft) and integration in the imperial judicial framework upheld by the Reichskammergericht and Reichshofrat. Participation in the Reichskriege and internal peacekeeping was the most visible means of demonstrating membership of the Reich. This level of institutional integration suggests that we should not dismiss the possibility of national identity within the Reich simply because its political development did not conform to the standard model dominating the state formation literature.

The Reich also experienced a relatively high degree of normative integration. The overarching framework of the imperial constitution influenced ideas and behaviour in the individual territories without imposing rigid uniformity. The general external orientation remained pacific throughout. Individual rulers were celebrated as warriors, but the Reich as a whole remained firmly identified with peace. The question of identity remains much harder to answer on the basis of the existing evidence. War did encourage identification with the Reich, especially where the purpose of the conflict could be related to the values of peace embodied in the imperial constitution. This relationship was clearest in the Turkish Wars where defence could be fitted into a long-established interpretation of the Reich as Christendom's bulwark. Identification was less clear in conflicts with other European powers, partly because these were always more controversial politically. However, the hierarchical structure of the imperial constitution inserted several additional political levels missing in other European states. Soldiers' loyalties remained focused primarily on their immediate comrades, their wider belonging to a distinct group of military personnel and their subordination to their territorial ruler responsible for all matters most affecting their daily lives. Compared to these elements, the emperor and Reich would seem rather distant.

Alexander Schmidt: Ein Vaterland ohne Patrioten? Die Debatten der Frühen Neuzeit

This article focuses on a fundamental discontinuity in early modern debates about German patriotism. It argues that, from the early sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, the notion of a love of the German fatherland was a well established concept in the political discourse of the Empire. This highly normative idea, which denoted a natural obligation towards one's patria and included the call to sacrifice one's life in times of danger, could be employed by various agents and in various political contexts. Particularly in times of external threat, love of the fatherland became a standard argument to rally support within the heterogeneous structure of the Empire. However, in the course of the Seven Years War and the following crisis of the Empire, German Reichspatriotismus became less and less self-evident. The crisis of German patriotism also resulted from a new debate about the possibility of patriotism under the conditions of modern monarchies. In contrast to the naturalism of the humanists, German Aufklärer insisted on increased obligations of a country towards its citizens, such as civil liberties, in order to produce enthusiasm and generate a sense of individual moral obligation towards the state. The article here analyses various late eighteenth-century accounts of the crisis of German patriotism and attempts to overcome and redefine it. It also shows that a number of authors around 1800 viewed the notorious lack of German patriotism as a positive national characteristic, which would turn the Germans into a cosmopolitan nation.

Dieter Langewiesche: Föderative Nation, kulturelle Identität und politische Ordnung – (Rück)Blick aus dem 19. Jahrhundert

The starting point of this article is the way that, in an act of historical-political legitimation, German history was re-written from the point of view of the nation state. This is recounted here as a fairy tale: the German nation, a princess, awaits the liberating kiss of the Prussian prince, who finally manfully hacks his way through the thicket of hundreds of years of a history consisting of both imperial and territorial traditions to guide the national sleeping beauty to the longed-for nation state. The article then juxtaposes to this national master narrative an interpretation which asks why so many Germans felt a sense of belonging to a German nation even as they lived

in a variety of German territories or states before 1871. They had the image of a federal nation in mind whose distinctive character can only be understood if the nation state is considered to be merely one option among others rather than an inevitable outcome which renders all others as historically inadequate. What seems from the perspective of the centralised Western nation state to be a deficient form of nation-building and of state, looks quite different in a perspective which does not dismiss the Old Reich and its legacy as nothing more than the antimodern ballast of tradition inherited from the early modern period.

The organisational model of the federative nation that grew out of the institutional structures of the Old Reich and its successor, the German Confederation, offered its citizens more opportunities for participation than a centralised nation state could do owing to the existence of several different levels of government, each of them with its own institutions and potential for the development of cultural identity. On the other hand this variety of levels of government and opportunities for the formation of cultural identities at each of them made it more difficult to reform the institutions of state. There was no single capital where decisions were made for the whole Reich. It was more difficult for revolutions to occur in a federal nation. This fact has often been pointed out and related to the idea of Germany as a country that never experienced a successful revolution (Land ohne erfolgreiche Revolution). Yet that should not blind us to the potential for political action and participation that did exist in a federally organized polity. A balanced account has to consider both.

II. Die deutsche Nation von außen

Michael North: Nationale und kulturelle Selbstverortung in der Diaspora: Die Deutschen in den russischen Ostseeprovinzen des 18. Jahrhunderts

This article discusses the location of the cultural identity of the German Baltic intelligentsia in the Russian Baltic provinces Livonia, Estonia and Courland in the eighteenth century. Accepting and defending Russian sovereignty, German elites fostered their political and cultural dominance in the region by maintaining their own educational standards and participating in intellectual societies. The recruitment of German university graduates provided households with teachers and parishes with pastors. Both clergymen and teachers were active initiators of intellectual discussions within literary circles, and prolific editors of journals and books informing audiences in the German and Russian empires about these peripheral provinces. At the same time, the articles, discussions and descriptions contributed to the preservation of German cultural roots of the Baltic elite by connecting the provinces to the intellectual circles of the German Empire. Nevertheless, the content of discussions and publications shows a particular interest in promoting a specifically regional patriotism which is not German-national in nature. In fact, cultural activities – including theatre and arts – drew not only on national cultural roots but were more European in character, as befits their embeddedness in a society shaped by Russian political dominance and a German cultural footing.

Thomas Maissen: Die Eidgenossen und die deutsche Nation in der Frühen Neuzeit

Until today, traditionally minded national historiography reduces the independence of the Swiss confederation to two seemingly decisive dates: separation de facto through the Swabian War of 1499 and separation de iure through the Westfalian treaties in 1648. However, a nuanced interpretation reveals a much longer and gradual process.

In a first phase, until about 1550, humanists shape the concept of a *natio helvetica* besides other German nationes, thus ennobling a league of peasants and burghers within the Holy Roman Empire. From 1550 until 1648 the status of the peripheral Confederation remains ambivalent, as it is discussed under the premises of imperial law and legitimacy also in Switzerland itself. Even after the so called exemption in Westfalia, that still refers to imperial law, the sovereignty of the Confederation and, even more decisively, of the single cantons is only slowly established in the following century lasting until about 1750 – but now as a Swiss nation under the premises of international law. From about 1700 onwards, the cultural movement labelled “Helvetism” goes along with this change in political practice and discourse. For the first time, the French language becomes an equal part of Swiss culture dissociating so from the homogenous German culture of the remaining Empire. Simultaneously, the moral language of Helvetism – fully fledged in Rousseau – opposes the French model of court life that dominates also among the (petty) princes of the Empire. The free and simple shepherd of the Alps becomes the symbol of a nation in growing need of institutional integration and cultural profile.

Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg: Polen und die deutsche Nation – Konfligierende Identitätszuschreibungen und antagonistische Entwürfe politischer Ordnung

The article deals with the development of German and Polish national and historical discourses, their interaction and their reaction to each other from the early 16th century to the late 17th century. These include the humanistic discourses (1500-1550), the public media of the Interregna period (1572, 1575, 1586/1587), the denominational disputes (1587-1668) and the debates between German and Polish historians of law (late 17th century). Polish humanistic national models were developed in reaction to earlier German ideas, particularly in two contexts: on the one hand in the bourgeois and academic environment of Cracow and on the other hand in the diplomatic and military relations between the Teutonic Order and Poland. In response to the German notions (Celtis, Hesus, Agricola, Aventinus) of an ancient German heritage (*Germania Magna*) and the idea of the original dependence of Poland on the Reich, the Polish elites (von Miechow, Bielski, Kromer) created a narrative of history (*Sarmatia magna*) that both rejected Bohemian influences and any tributary relations to the Kaiser and minimized the importance of the Jagiellon dynasty. It is important to notice that this discourse was not founded on ethnicity or language, but on loyalty to the Polish crown. The German citizens of Cracow were, for example, scarcely affected by these ideas. In the time of the Interregna these national concepts were instrumentalised in election propaganda and were widely diffused by means of the intensive use of public media among the nobility of the whole Commonwealth. The debate about the Polish polity was conducted in terms of the juxtaposition of the idea of „German tyranny“ to that of „Polish freedom“. The denominational dispute was linked with the unpopularity of the Wasa court, which was dominated by the German language. Bishops Pawel Piasecki even denounced Protestantism as a „German heresy“ and some also the antipathetic image of tyranny was also extended to the Swedish crown and to the Catholic Habsburgs. For their part the German Protestants (Thomas Lansius) contributed the „*descriptio gentium*“: literature which emphasized the weakness of the Polish kings. This marked the origin of the textual tradition that defended Poland, to which Poles as well as Germans (e.g. Gadebusch) contributed. As one of the founders of the history of German law Hermann Conring had substantial influence on the image of Poland in Germany and Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, particularly since he ignored the medieval independence of Poland and introduced the reproach that central constitutional principles in Poland had

developed anarchically. The opposition to these ideas on the part of the Prussian elites (Sachs, Hartknoch), especially in Danzig (Schultz), was remarkable, whereas the nobility of central Poland remained largely indifferent to them. Finally it is significant that these concepts were neither generated by actual conflicts nor dominated by ethnic categories as they later came to be in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They were, however, related to new emerging modes of political thinking. Interestingly, these also pointed over the structural constitutional similarities between the Old Reich and Poland-Lithuania.

Martin Wrede: Frankreich, das Reich und die deutsche Nation im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert – Wahrnehmungsmuster und Wahrnehmungswandel

The Holy Roman Empire did not belong to the preferential issues of the French historiography in the 17th and 18th century – for these lay on the fields of the French history itself –, though it also was not an insignificant or marginal subject. The constitutional characterization of the empire was the most contentious issue between the French writers, i.e. the question was argumentative whether it is to be understood as a monarchy or as an aristocracy. The answer was always influenced by the existing political rivalry, however, there was a stronger to the aristocratic or federal interpretation of the imperial constitution. But this opinion, as is generally known, existed and partially prevailed also in the empire itself and the French authors made use of these German voices as well.

Anyhow a trend towards the objectivization and the reducing of political emotions can be ascertained up to the end of the Ancien Régime in the French "imperial histories". The role of the emperor, the collaboration of emperor and estates was understood better and more accurately. This changed perception was surely the result as well as condition for the stronger on balance and cooperation concentrated French German policy after Ludwig XIV.; the weightiest authors belonged to the Germany specialists of the French foreign ministry.

III. Distinkt oder übergreifend?

Horst Carl: Europäische Adelsgesellschaft und deutsche Nation in der Frühen Neuzeit

Recent trends in research on nobility talk of 'European nobility' because, despite all the distinctions that have to be made, a culture of nobility did exist in Early Modern Europe: its social reality derived from class demarcation and its symbols and ceremonies appear as variants of a single system. Central features seem to include a specific chivalric ethos and an often fictitiously constructed affinity of courts and families, which nevertheless always aimed at a common space of acceptance that could actually be experienced by its members.

Based on this premise, my paper will examine the problematic issue of the contours of the German nation in the Early Modern era, taking German nobility as an example. Where did 'German' nobility position itself in transnational or international 'European' noble society of the Early Modern era, and vice versa: in which contexts and situations did the nobility of the Empire with all of its trans-european connections declare itself, or was declared, 'German' within transnational nobility society. The position adopted by the German nobility towards contemporary concepts of the nation will be examined in constellations, in which the national argument had a distinctive

function, especially in the context of a European networked nobility: the 'teutonic liberty' (teutsche Freiheit) as freedom of nobility, the 'German' nobility as the nobility of Christendom of the highest rank as well as the claim that national reasoning was an answer to the criticism nobility faced in the 18th century.

Joachim Whaley: Kulturelle Toleranz – die deutsche Nation im europäischen Vergleich

This chapter examines the evolution of German national identity in its European context in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Historians of German nationalism frequently argue that German national identity is quite unlike any other and that this peculiar identity accounts for the particular development of German history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This chapter considers the ways in which the German experience since the sixteenth century in fact paralleled the experience of other countries in both western and eastern Europe. Much of what is often claimed to be new and peculiar about German identity from about 1750 in fact derived from Humanist thinking around 1500. This tradition still shaped the way that Germans thought about their society around 1800. Respect for freedom and the law were core values of the Holy Roman Empire; its development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had produced a unique solution to the problem of the religious division; its polycentric structure had shaped German culture. 'Unity in diversity' became the watchword among writers who viewed German culture as more modern than that of France. As the French Revolution descended into violence and anarchy, especially during the period of the Jacobin tyranny 1793-94, German writers became more confident of the value of their own culture and of the role they believed it would play in the future. Later nationalist historians interpreted these views as early manifestations of a new national spirit. In fact they reflected the development of the Holy Roman Empire in the early modern period.

Siegrid Westphal: Frauenzimmerlexika der Frühen Neuzeit als nationaler Mythosentwurf

The central focus of the essay is an early modern literary genre of the gentlewoman's lexicon, which is interpreted as the inauguration of a political myth. Via the creation of a monument to female scholarliness, its aim was to elevate the position of the German nation in contrast to all other European nations, but also to portray it as superior in comparison to the ancient past, which had hitherto been considered exemplary. Female scholars and other women outstanding in their fields – heroines – were intended to become a part of a collective cultural memory through the lexicon, in order to unite the entire population in the concept of a German nation. In order to exemplify this new approach, political research into myth is introduced; then the creation and development of gentlewomen's lexicon as the creation of a myth is illustrated; and finally the failure to create the myth during the late Enlightenment is explained with the transformation of the female role model. It was no longer the scholar but the housewife and mother educated within narrow boundaries that became a national role model. In this way, an alternative myth asserted itself and still continues to have an effect today.

Luise Schorn-Schütte: Politica christiana: eine konfessionelle oder christliche Grundordnung für die deutsche Nation?

The close connection between a Christian concept of political authority and the concept of patria can be traced from the debates on the Schmalkaldic League to the

second half of the 17th century. In that context, the concept of patria was used in a variety of correlations. Whereas it was the Holy Roman Empire as a monarchia mixta that was first equated with the patria in the debate during the middle of the 16th century, the use of the concept shifted to the level of the territories at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. The estates in Bohemia and Hessen-Kassel, among others, applied the concept of patria as a synonym for their right of political participation and thus for the conservation of the order of estates against tendencies from the prince to enforce his authority, understood as being centralized and monarchical. In the debates on political theology led before and after the Thirty Years' War, the connection between the concepts of patria and politica christiana was revitalized in a third phase with the concentration on the rights of the estates of the Holy Roman Empire as opposed to the Emperor. Two important exponents of a Lutheran politica christiana, J. Gerhard and D. Reinkingk, differed in their arguments concerning the Empire, but they set similar limits to the claims of the estates. The Empire as patria, as a monarchia mixta in the sense of the limitation of authority found in the concept of politica christiana, remained virulent for an entire century. In the connections of that time, the concept of patria in most cases proved to be a polemic concept in confessional and political conflicts and was then used as a synonym for a limited authority. However, this semantic and effectual political connection has not attained the character of a permanent basic order.

IV. Nationalkulturelle Zuschreibungen

Daniel Fulda: Zwischen Gelehrten- und Kulturnationalismus. Die „deutsche Nation“ in der literaturpolitischen Publizistik Johann Christoph Gottscheds

Concerted efforts to establish a German national literature begin around 1730 with Gottsched's literary politics and history. This attempt at collecting the historical and regulating contemporary German literature is oriented at the 'merit' or 'honour' of the German nation. The German nation is envisaged as a linguistic community stretching across the borders of the Empire; its honour is seen to be guaranteed by achievements at least comparable to the other great nation's literatures. Gottsched's appeal to honour locates him in a long tradition which stretches back to Humanism while also transcending this tradition by addressing, and actually reaching, a public interested in literature which was broader than the learned scholars traditionally viewed as the attorneys of a nation based on literature and history. Gottsched not only writes about the honour of the German nation but also addresses his eulogy with a massive and heretofore unknown degree of public relations to the German nation, with the goal of actually creating this nation out of the participants of a public joined by a common language. His project therefore converts Early Modern scholarly nationalism into a cultural nationalism which can be declared more 'modern' insofar it identifies the nation as its common denominator and is supposed to shape the consciousness of the larger population.

Gottsched's at times aggressive cultural nationalism not only contradicts the standard image of the 'cosmopolitan Enlightenment' but also his actual reliance on exemplary figures from French literature in particular. These contradictions can be explained by the fact that there was no other discursive pattern available for formulating claims for the validity of this literary and national concept than the Early Modern scholarly nationalism. Gottsched's use of these tropes can be understood as 'linguistic play' with a reduced referentiality to reality. Gottsched's intention to lead the Germans to a nationhood of the culturally conscious who free themselves from 'foreign', feudal and

religious authorities is at any rate a genuine and integral part of his enlightened reform programme.

Klaus Pietschmann: Nationale Identitätskonstruktion im deutschsprachigen Musiktheater des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts.

Constructing national identity in German music theatre of the late 18th century

Already during the late 17th century, one finds operas based on historical Germanic subjects such as Agostino Steffani's *Enrico leone*. However, it is only towards the end of the 18th century that such subjects acquired patriotic connotations directed in part towards a non-noble public. Ignaz Holzbauer's *Günther von Schwarzburg*, first performed in Mannheim in 1777, is both the most prominent and the most unusual example of this new patriotic Germanic 'Singspiel' production. Though formally more conventional, the 'allegorical Singspiel' *Heinrich der Löwe* (Frankfurt 1792), with a text by Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder and music (lost) by Carl David Stegmann, is a comparable example in terms of impact. Independently of these national subjects, the Viennese Singspiel, in particular under the regency of Franz II., developed an integrative function which encouraged Austrian patriotism, and promoted social cohesion across classes.

Meinrad von Engelberg: „Deutscher Barock“ oder „Barock in Deutschland“ – Nur ein Streit um Worte?

This essay deals with the general topic of this book, which is the question of "political order and cultural Identity" in the Holy Roman Empire, seen under the changing perspectives of German art historians defining their subject. The author argues that the conscious use of the two terms "Art in Germany" or "German Art" by several scholars reveals different ways of thinking about this question: those who prefer "Art in Germany" generally reject any specific, national "character" of art; the use of the term "German Art" often indicates the model of a common "language" in early modern German culture. In both parts, the main problem lies in defining borderlines (modern or historic?), discriminating "Germany" from the Eastern part of central Europe. The third part discusses the possibility of reading "post-gothic" architecture, a common style for 17th century German catholic and protestant ecclesiastical buildings, as a specific traditional "German manner" of church building that is seen as a national alternative to the imported "Italian manner" of the new Antique or Renaissance taste.